

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 SAM-01 /085 W

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R 071237Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1965

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 12732

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, GE, IS

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST GERMAN  
FOREIGN MINISTERS AT HELSINKI

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THEIR BILATERAL TALK IN HELSINKI  
GDR FOREIGN MINISTER FISCHER TOOK HIS WEST GERMAN  
COUNTERPART TO TASK FOR HIS CONTINUING REFUSAL TO  
RECEIVE MICHAEL KOHL, THE HEAD OF THE GDR PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATION IN BONN. GENSCHER STOOD FIRM, STATING  
HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE KOHL AS SOON AS THE LATTER  
HAD PAID A CALL ON THE FRG INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS  
MINISTER. IN THEIR DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST,  
FISCHER AGREED THAT EXPULSION OF ISRAEL WOULD NOT BE  
USEFUL FOR THE UN, THOUGH HE SUGGESTED THAT ISRAEL  
HAD BROUGHT SUCH ACTION ON ITSELF. TO GENSCHER'S  
SUGGESTION THAT ASSISTANCE TO THE LEAST DEVELOPED  
COUNTRIES MIGHT BE AN AREA WHERE THE TWO GERMANIES

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MIGHT COOPERATE, FISCHER RESPONDED THAT THE TIME WAS

NOT RIPE FOR SUCH COOPERATION AND THAT THERE MUST FIRST BE FURTHER NORMALIZATION OF INTER-GERMAN RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. AT THE AUGUST 4 BONN GROUP MEETING THE FRG REP (LUECKING) DISTRIBUTED COPIES OF A TELEGRAM REPORTING ON THE JULY 31 GENSCHER-FISCHER MEETING IN HELSINKI. LUECKING OBSERVED THAT NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE HAD DEVELOPED BUT THAT FISCHER HAD BEEN VERY COOL IN TRYING TO ADVANCE THE ARGUMENT THAT THE FRG SHOULD TREAT THE HEAD OF THE GDR PERMANENT REPRESENTATION IN BONN AS A FOREIGN AMBASSADOR. (COMMENT: KOHL HAS BEEN RECEIVED BY THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR AND HAS CALLED ON MOST OTHER CABINET MINISTERS. HE ALSO IS RECEIVED AT THE STATE SECRETARY LEVEL AND BELOW AT THE FONOFF. GENSCHER REFUSES TO RECEIVE HIM, HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF KOHL'S REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE COMPETENCE OF THE MINISTRY OF INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS. END COMMENT.) AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF THE FRG REPORT FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN TEXT: FISCHER WAS ACCOMPANIED BY HIS ADVISER (REFERENT) NIKLAS, AND GENSCHER BY "D 2" (PRESUMABLY VAN WELL, DIRECTOR OF FONOFF'S SECOND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT).

3. BOTH DISCUSSION PARTNERS PRELIMINARILY ASSESSED THE JUST-DELIVERED BREZHNEV ADDRESS POSITIVELY. FISCHER CALLED IT A GOOD SIGN THAT BOTH GERMAN GOVERNMENTS COULD AGREE IN THIS ASSESSMENT. BREZHNEV'S ADDRESS WAS FORWARD-LOOKING, AND THAT WAS GOOD.

4. FISCHER CHARACTERIZED IT AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE GENERAL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS OF BOTH SIDES THAT THE FONMINS MET FOR DISCUSSIONS ON OCCASIONS LIKE THIS JUST AS BOTH DO WITH OTHER FONMINS AS WELL. IN POLITICS ONE MUST RELY UPON REALITY AND PUT ILLUSIONS ASIDE. HE REGRETTED THAT IN ONE CERTAIN RESPECT THE FRG FONMIN HAD NOT YET BROUGHT ABOUT THE NORMAL CULTIVATION OF CONTACTS. THIS CONCERNED THE OFFICIAL  
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CALL ON GENSCHER BY KOHL WHICH HAD NOT YET TAKEN PLACE. HE, FISCHER, WAS A VERY COOPERATIVE MAN AND HE WAS PREPARED TO MEET THE WISH OF MR. GAUS FOR FREQUENT CONVERSATIONS HALF-WAY. THE ATTITUDE OF GENSCHER VIS-A-VIS KOHL DID NOT CORRESPOND TO  
REALITY.

5. GENSCHER EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO RECEIVE

KOHL ON THE SAME DAY THAT THE LATTER VISITED MINISTER FRANKE. HOWEVER, AS LONG AS KOHL AVOIDED ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE CABINET ON ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN POLITICAL REASONS, HE WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTIES ON HIS SIDE. THE GDR DID NOT HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT FRANKE'S TITLE. WHAT MATTERED WAS THAT FRANKE WAS A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND HE MUST BE RECOGNIZED BY KOHL AS

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SUCH. FISCHER ANSWERED THAT IT WOULD EASE THINGS IF WE (THE FRG) WOULD NOT INSIST ON A CALL ON FRANKE.

6. GENSCHER THEN ASKED FOR THE VIEWS OF THE GDR ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. FISCHER REPLIED THAT THEY WERE BASED ON THE RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS JUST AS OUR VIEWS WERE. HE HOPED FOR QUICK PROGRESS IN THE

DIRECTION OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. GENSCHER EXPRESSED THE EXPECTATION THAT A FURTHER SINAI AGREEMENT WOULD BE ACHIEVED SOON. FISCHER NOTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT THINK THAT A PARTIAL SETTLEMENT WAS THE PROPER WAY TO PROCEED, BUT RATHER FAVORED A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT AND THE QUICK CONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, WHICH MUST BE CAREFULLY PREPARED, NEVERTHELESS, IN ORDER TO SECURE POSITIVE RESULTS.

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7. GENSCHER COMMENTED ON THE TREND TOWARD THE CURTAILMENT OF ISRAEL'S RIGHTS IN THE UN. ON THIS POINT WE WERE GREATLY CONCERNED, SINCE THE WORK OF THE UN AND THE PEACE EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD BE GRAVELY IMPAIRED. FOR THESE REASONS WE ALSO HOPED FOR THE SPEEDY REALIZATION OF A FURTHER SINAI AGREEMENT.

8. FISCHER THOUGHT THAT ACTION AGAINST ISRAEL IN THE UN WOULD LEAD TO COMPLICATIONS, THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE USEFUL FOR THE UN, AND THAT ONE SHOULD EXERT APPROPRIATE INFLUENCE (EINFLUSS NEHMEN) AT A PROPITIOUS TIME IN THE DISCUSSION. ON THE OTHER HAND, ONE COULD NOT OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT ISRAEL HAD BROUGHT THIS DEVELOPMENT ON ITSELF BY ITS INSOLENT NONOBSERVANCE OF THE UN RESOLUTIONS.

9. GENSCHER THEN PRESENTED OUR VIEW OF THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNGA, DURING WHICH HE EMPHASIZED ABOVE ALL THE DIFFICULT SITUATION OF THE POOREST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE PLACED GREAT STRESS ON THE ALLEVIATION OF THE FATE OF THESE COUNTRIES. HERE, PERHAPS, THERE WERE POSSIBILITIES FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO STATES.

10. FISCHER INDICATED THAT THIS WAS NOT FORESEEABLE AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION MUST BE DEVELOPED FURTHER.

11. GENERALLY, FISCHER WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE POLICIES OF THE FRG VIS-A-VIS THE GDR WERE STILL BASED CHIEFLY UPON ILLUSIONS. IF HE HAD HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON GENSCHER'S SPEECH IN THE CSCE DEBATE IN THE BUNDESTAG BEFORE IT WAS DELIVERED, HE WOULD HAVE ADVISED HIM TO OMIT A PASSAGE. EVEN AT THE RISK OF BEING CRITICISED BY GENSCHER AS BEING A DIALECTICAL IDEOLOGUE, HE WANTED TO SAY THAT FOR HIM THE OPPOSING CONCEPTS OF COMMUNALITY AND SEPARATENESS (ABGRENZUNG) MUST BE SEEN TOGETHER. FOR

ONLY WHEN THERE IS MUTUAL SEPARATION CAN COMMUNALITY  
BE REALIZED. HE WAS FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN BOTH  
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STATES GROWING EVER CLOSER, BUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF  
THE BASIC TREATY, AND NOT ON THE BASIS OF THE  
JUDGMENT OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL COURT. THE  
LATTER CONTAINED A ONE-SIDED INTERPRETATION WHICH THE  
GDR DID NOT RECOGNIZE. GENSCHER RESPONDED THAT, OF  
COURSE, THE JUDGMENT WAS BINDING FOR THE FRG, AND THAT  
WE WOULD ACT ACCORDINGLY. NEVERTHELESS, HE DID NOT  
HAVE ANY OBJECTIONS TO THE GDR ITSELF PROCEEDING FROM  
THE BASIC TREATY. IN GENERAL, THE JUDGMENT OF THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL COURT ITSELF, WITH A VIEW TO THE GDR,  
LEFT ENOUGH ROOM FOR IMPROVING COOPERATION.

12. FINALLY, BOTH AGREED THAT THE MEETING HAD BEEN  
USEFUL AND THAT EACH SHOULD DO HIS UTMOST TO SEE THEY  
MET AGAIN DURING THE COMING UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.END TEXT..  
HILLENBRAND

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